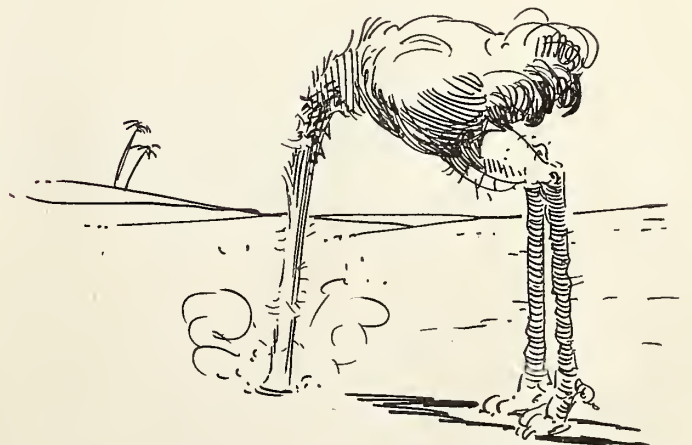


In Lincoln's Home Town

SPRINGFIELD AND THE
SPRINGFIELD SURVEY

By Shelby M. Harrison



Cartoon by A. S. Harkness, Springfield

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN TOWN:
AS SPRINGFIELD SEES IT NOW

The Springfield Survey

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Findings Published in Ten Parts

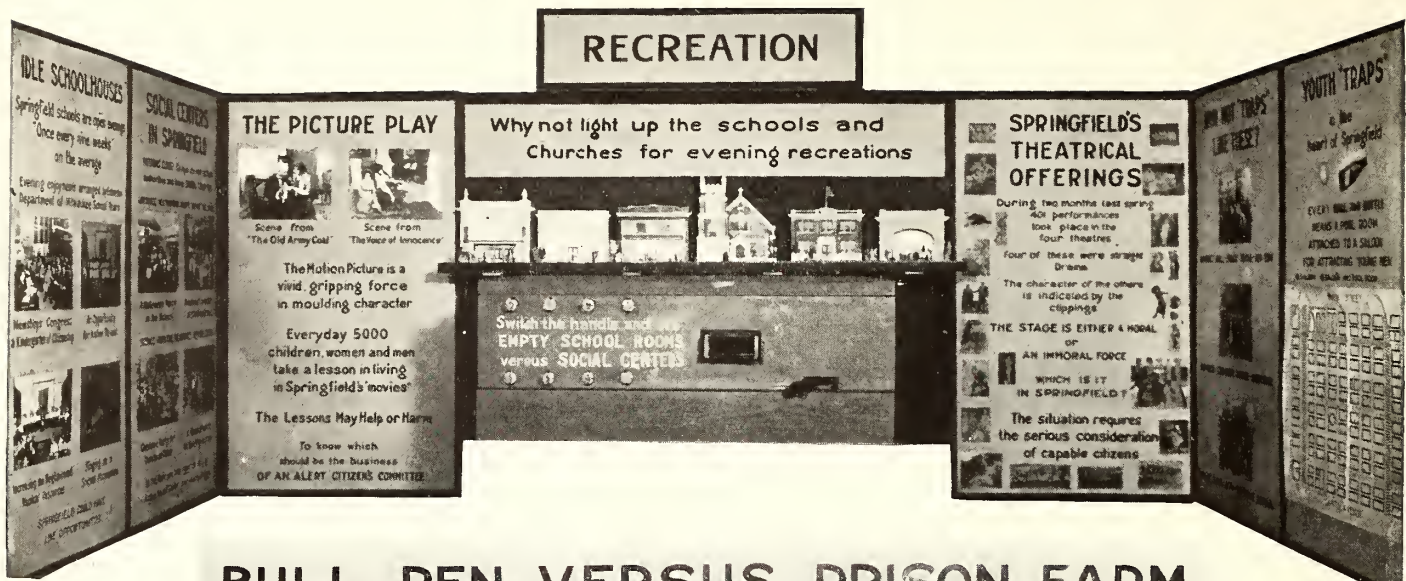
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- Springfield Survey Exhibition:** *E. G. Routzahn, Mary Swain Routzahn and Walter Storey.* A brief pamphlet description of the Exhibition. 8 pages, 5c. A few exhibit panels are reproduced in the reports.

DEPARTMENT of SURVEYS and EXHIBITS

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

130 East Twenty-second Street - - New York City

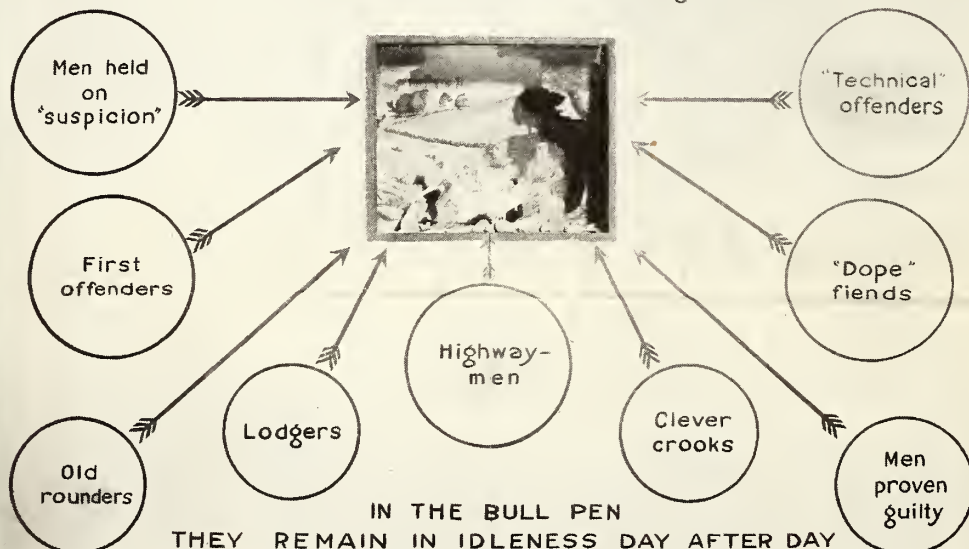
Reprinted from
THE SURVEY
February 3, 1917



BULL PEN VERSUS PRISON FARM

Which will better protect the community?

In the Bull Pen are herded together



IN THE BULL PEN
THEY REMAIN IN IDLENESS DAY AFTER DAY

See the right way-the way that protects by reforming



HOW THE SPRINGFIELD FINDINGS WERE TOLD

Above is a section from the recreation exhibit, showing photographs, legends, maps and a three-dimension model of dark and empty schools which the visitor turned into lighted neighborhood centers by himself throwing a switch. In the middle of the large panel from the correction section, is a panoramic view of a modern penal farm, alternating automatically with a photograph of the bull pen in the Springfield City prison. Below: a scene from one of the half dozen amateur plays—this one interpreting the organization of charity.

In Lincoln's Home Town

How the Springfield Survey Went About Getting Results

By Shelby M. Harrison

DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYS AND EXHIBITS, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

DOES the social survey really lead to constructive action? This is a fair question.

It was put something over two years ago by a knot of Springfield people who took to heart the human prosperity of that capital city, set in the Illinois prairies, where Abraham Lincoln lived and voted; practiced law and legislated; above all, made common cause with his neighbors, and discussed with them the how and wherefore of town affairs, state affairs, national affairs, until the most deep-seated social problem of his time became the subject of his scrutiny and his resolve.

These Illinois men and women, his fellow townsmen, are perhaps better placed today to give answer to their own question than anyone else in the country. They have helped answer it, for in the intervening two years Springfield has had its survey—in some respects the most comprehensive yet attempted—building on the experience of Pittsburgh, Birmingham, Syracuse, Newburgh and Topeka. A series of nine reports has been issued; an exhibit has been held; public and private agencies have set changes afoot.

Moreover, the Springfield survey can be discussed with some freedom, even by an outsider who has been identified with it from its inception, because it was no one organization's job. It has been a cooperative undertaking by many organizations and individuals. It began with the group of Springfield citizens referred to, who had been giving some thought to social conditions in their city, had become dissatisfied with them, and had decided that the time had arrived to get out of their maze of conflicting opinions and beliefs and, if possible, onto a basis of certitude in working for community advance.

There were some citizens, for example, who believed Springfield's public schools the equal of any in the state; others believed they needed to be readjusted to the changed conditions under which the oncoming generation must live and work. Some boasted of the city as the "healthiest place in Illinois"; others believed the number of deaths from preventable causes was too high, and public health appropriations too meager.

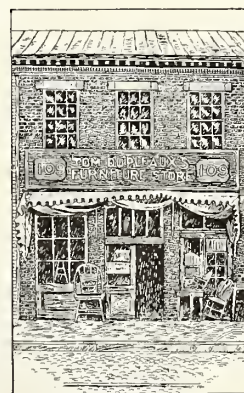
Some believed that local strikes were due to union agitators who wanted to kick up a fuss; others, that they indicated something wrong with wages, employment opportunities, and general working conditions. There were those who believed law-breakers got what they deserved, but others were of opinion that ill-treatment of offenders provoked crime. And so on: the opinions and beliefs were as conflicting and various as they are in every live, growing American city.

Fortunately, the few interested citizens thought it important to give them the test of fact. They had been convinced of the value of applying scientific method to social problems by the usefulness of a survey of certain phases of housing and sanitary conditions made several years before by Dr. George Thomas Palmer in connection with his duties as health officer of the city. The activities of a survey committee of the Illinois State Conference of Charities and Correction also furthered this feeling and gave this Springfield group a sense that more than the improvement of local conditions might hang on their enterprise.

Springfield a Representative City

FOR SPRINGFIELD has other characteristics besides its social problems which make it typical of scores, if not hundreds, of American communities. Its economic life is of quadrivial structure, to go far afield for a word. It is built where four main currents quick with energy and possibilities for community building come together—manufacturing, mining, agriculture and commerce. Indeed, Springfield might count on a fifth main current—the business of public service. The offices of state, county and city governments bring in a thousand and more workers.

Springfield's manufacturers are about the average for places of her size. They are diverse, ranging



LINCOLN'S OLD OFFICE
IN SPRINGFIELD

THE SPRINGFIELD SURVEY

Shelby M. Harrison

DIRECTOR

DIVISIONS OF INVESTIGATION

- I. Public Schools.....LEONARD P. AYRES
 II. Care of Mental Defectives, the Insane and Alcoholics.....WALTER L. TREADWAY, M. D.
 III. Recreation.....LEE F. HANMER AND C. A. PERRY
 IV. Housing.....JOHN IHLDER
 V. Public Health.....FRANZ SCHNEIDER, JR.
 VI. The Correctional System.....ZENAS L. POTTER
 VII. Charities.....FRANCIS H. MCLEAN
 VIII. Industrial Conditions.....LOUISE C. ODENCRANTZ AND ZENAS L. POTTER
 IX. City and County Administration.....D. O. DECKER

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

National

United States Public Health Service
 American Association for Organizing Charity
 National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis
 National Committee for Mental Hygiene
 National Housing Association
 Russell Sage Foundation Departments
 Charity Organization Department
 Division of Education
 Department of Child Helping
 Division of Industrial Studies
 Department of Recreation
 Division of Statistics
 Department of Surveys and Exhibits

State

Illinois State Board of Health
 Illinois State Water Survey
 Illinois Conference of Charities and Correction
 Illinois State Food Commission
 Illinois State Department of Factory Inspection

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SURVEY EXHIBIT

E. G. ROUTZAHN MARY SWAIN ROUTZAHN
 DIRECTORS

WALTER STOREY

DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

COPIES of the nine reports, the first edition bound in paper, may be obtained from the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22 street, New York city, and the Springfield Survey Committee, Springfield, Ill. Price, 25 cents per copy, except for the Housing and Mental Hygiene sections, which are 15 cents per copy. Had time and funds allowed, other subjects would have been added, such as city planning; home conditions, as such; taxation, in greater detail; commercialized vice; and the religious forces of the city. All of these, however, were dealt with in some degree as parts of the nine main divisions. The nine reports and a general summary by the director are to be published in three illustrated volumes, cloth, by the Russell Sage Foundation.

from agricultural implements to watches, building brick to shoes, gristmill products to asphalt paving, and so through a long list. A bed of soft coal, averaging over five feet in thickness, underlies the city and surrounding territory and furnishes power for its factories. Several mine tipples stand near, and 2,500 Springfield working-men are employed in the coal pits. The surface of Sangamon and adjacent counties is covered by a stratum of the same fertile soil found in other parts of the corn belt. This soil extends over low hills and is well adapted to farming. And with no large centers nearer than thirty miles, Springfield is the collecting and shipping market for the farm products from a large area, as well as for its own manufactures and fuel. It is also an important distributing point to the surrounding district. This four-ply structure, not to include the fifth, makes for representativeness.

Springfield, moreover, is a city not of many extremes but of many averages. Located about midway between the northern and southern states and near the center of population of the country, it has shared in the cross currents of political, social and economic forces of the east and the west, the north and the south. It is not congested. Its increase in population has been at a comparatively regular yearly rate. Like most other American cities, it has grown without the guidance of a city plan, and the usual rectangular block prevails. Commission government was adopted at about the time it was adopted in many other places.

In addition, Springfield is a city of, roughly, 60,000 people; out of the 228 incorporated places in the United States which in 1910 had 25,000 or more inhabitants, 196, or 86 per cent, ranged from 25,000 to 150,000; cities within these population limits are likely to have many common civic and social problems. More, Springfield is one of forty-eight state capitals in the United States.

These are some of the reasons why various outside organizations joined with the forward-looking Springfield men and women in carrying out the survey. A survey committee of twenty-four was organized. The chairman was a state senator, and among the other members were a former lieutenant-governor of Illinois, a state commissioner, the city superintendent of schools, other public officials, business men, labor leaders, clergymen, doctors, women's clubs leaders, editors, teachers and social workers.

Planning and direction were put into the hands of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, which enlisted six other departments of the Foundation, and five other national organizations, to cooperate with the five Illinois state organizations, the local social agencies and the six hundred volunteer workers who took part in the nine main divisions of the field investigations or the exhibit which followed.

The findings themselves give us a new and ampler definition of Springfield, in terms of concrete conditions; give us a cross section, if you will, of present-day community life in the Middle West.

Schools

FROM the time the charter of the Northwest Territory set aside one square mile in every township for schools, the Great Lake region has been progressive in the development of its public school system—in carrying it up through the high-school grades, through the state normal school, and to the state university at the top, and down to the kindergartens at the bottom, and in compelling school attendance.

Organized education is our biggest public interest. Nearly one-fifth of all the human beings in Springfield in 1914 were

in school. And roughly another two-fifths were parents and guardians, making the schooling possible.

Nevertheless, in the course of time, recognition of this great social need and effort has in many places gone lame, and in one city and state after another movements to rekindle the old enthusiasm and give it new content are under way. Compulsory schooling—the great slogan—had long since lost its edge in Springfield, and attendance in 1914 had become only mildly compulsory. This in spite of the fact that the city had a greater proportion of illiteracy in its native white population than any other city of over 30,000 population in Illinois, and that the proportion was increasing. The chief reason for failure to enforce the law seemed to be a general indifference on the part of the entire community—a slipping back from the early ideal of universal education as the cornerstone of democracy.

But another factor in the slack attendance was the character of much of the school work done. The survey asked a number of leading citizens to pass an examination on material used in spelling, arithmetic, geography and history classes. They failed miserably. The material was of a kind seldom or never used in the offices, stores or shops, homes or churches of present-day Springfield. No wonder much of the work, as in many another city, lacked vitality and failed to grip the interest of the young people or their parents. The result was that both boys and girls dropped out in large numbers, and the boys were the first to go. While some handwork had been introduced into the curriculum, such as sewing, cooking, carpentry and machine-shop processes, the strictly vocational courses were very limited; and a large part of the handwork was formal, inelastic and far removed from the problems of real life.

This was largely true of the quality of the classroom instruction also. There was too much lesson getting and lesson reciting, and too little real study and development of thinking; and back of that too little contact by the teachers with the every-day life about them.

The school board was found to be transacting a great amount of detailed educational and administrative work that could better have been delegated to its executives. Meanwhile, even the newest buildings were a quarter of a century behind the times in design—which meant waste of space, inadequate lighting, blackboards not well located, stairways dangerous in case of fire and other defects.

Thus, though taxing themselves freely for the education of the growing generation, adult Springfield had been getting many school buildings, but not the right school buildings, nor the full use of them out of school hours. It had a broad course of study, but one ill-adapted to an era of electricity and machinery. It had a large corps of teachers, but too many trained at home and not in step with more improved methods. It got self-sacrificing service from its school board, but service concerned with the details of an old system, rather than with re-applying in modern ways the vision of those hardy first settlers who set up their district schools at the crossways.

Recreation

IN Lincoln's day recreation was a thing which largely took care of itself. But the survey was quick to find that the old-time games, such as prisoner's base, run sheep run, duck on the rock, leap frog, bull in the ring had nearly died out. The only diversions reported by over a fifth of the boys were motion-picture shows, baseball, reading and kite-flying.

Springfield is fortunate in that its people, for the most part, live in detached houses with yards, giving opportunity



CAPITOL
OR
CAPITAL:
WHICH?

*Does your state
capital lead the cities
of your state? If not,
why not?*

FOR a hundred years state pride has expressed itself in big round domes and fluted pillars. Springfield and the Springfield survey raise a new question—Why not put the imagination and resources of the commonwealth into making the capital city of each state its standard municipality, in health, housing, education, charity, corrections, governmental efficiency? The meetings of the legislature, the annual state fairs, encampments of the militia, civil, trade and professional conventions, are so many opportunities for extending such leadership.



for home recreations ranging all the way from children's indoor and outdoor games to home social functions. Yet in three-fifths of the boys' homes and in nearly half of the girls' homes parties for young people were not held. Nor did social agencies outside the home fill the need. During a three months' period only eleven out of the twenty public schools had evening entertainments, lectures or social gatherings. On an average, only once out of every nine or ten weeks did the schoolhouse play a part in the recreational life of its neighborhood. The Young Women's Christian Association was doing excellent community work; not so the Young Men's; the churches as a whole (and as compared with those of many other cities) had not in any large way taken the lead in providing social life. The parks were beautiful, but their social use meager, their play leadership lacking.

Meanwhile, commercial amusements were found at every young elbow. There was a large amount of unsupervised and uncontrolled dancing, much of it carried on in hotels and elsewhere under conditions which might be abused. Billiard and pool halls were left to go their own course; and private clubs found a way around the state law against prize fights.

While only two out of five of the young people in the high school went to dances, four out of five of them attended the theaters. Practically all the high-school students went to the

movies. The boys averaged once a week; the girls nearly as often; the majority going without older members of the family. Most of the motion-picture theaters were found to maintain fairly satisfactory conditions as to ventilation and cleanliness, but the city ordinances were defective in not providing for regular inspection to see that the moral and sanitary standards required before licensing were maintained afterwards. The programs were neither specially good nor shockingly bad. Of the four regular theaters in Springfield only one made a pretense at offering anything more serious than vaudeville, and one was putting on a program and conducting a business which surrounded its patrons with the most

the police and sheriff's office, through the jails and other detention places, courts and magistrates' offices, and so on to the prisons and penitentiaries.

Delinquency and Corrections

IN 1913, the year studied, about 5,000 adults were arrested in Springfield charged with some specific offense. But little over one-fourth were convicted of crime, and the prevailing methods of dealing with them were not of a sort to check the stream.

Fines, the most used method, were often employed where in the very nature of the case they would not act as a deter-

FIRST comes investigation. Fact-gathering is the A-B-C of surveys. The survey is an attempt in the field of civic and social reform to do what the civil engineer does before he starts to lay out a railroad; what the sanitarian does before he starts a campaign against malaria; what the scientific physician does before he treats a case; what the modern financier does before he develops a mine. It is, in short, an attempt to substitute tested information for supposition, belief or conjecture.

Unconfirmed belief has sometimes been a very unreliable and socially expensive guide to action. It was once believed, for example (and not so long ago), that fumigation was a main reliance in preventing the spread of contagious disease; now a fuller understanding of the manner in which disease spreads puts the emphasis on far more important preventive measures. Again, it was once believed that work accidents were either unavoidable or due to carelessness on the part of employees; but now we have the data to show that a progressive management may prevent a large proportion of them.

On the other hand, many such beliefs have been justified by study of the facts, and others have been found to contain half truths, such as the notion that malaria is due to swamps and stagnant water. It was J. A. Froude who once said: "Depend upon it, in all long-established practices or spiritual formulas there has been some living truth." But even these beliefs and half truths, although they at times have served good purposes, really support our point, since they leap into great practical usefulness upon being proved. At best, untested belief, *a priori* theory, or conjecture are uncertain foundations upon which to build, whether in social work, industry, commerce or government.

Six Characteristics of How Designed to Get Action Why Results Should Follow

SECOND comes analysis and interpretation. Once facts are in hand, what do they mean? Do they show satisfactory conditions or conditions calling for change? If it is found, for example, that 25 per cent of the elementary school pupils of a city are over age; that is, two or more years behind the grade in which children of their ages would ordinarily be found; does it mean that they are badly taught, or that the city has a defective educational system? Or should other facts be related to this one before any conclusion can be drawn with safety? Unfavorable home and family conditions, ill health, ill-adapted courses of study, foreign birth and recent immigration, or badly enforced school attendance enter into the backwardness of this over-age group.

And before condemning a city, should an examination be made of the per cent of over-age pupils in the schools of other comparable cities?

Obviously, the facts gathered in a survey, if they are to be of real use, must be organized and basic principles and general truths drawn from them. More than that, they should be interpreted in the light of as wide an acquaintance as possible with the factors entering into social problems.

THIRD come recommendations for improvement. The survey aims at results. It is diagnosis to the end that prescription may be written. Where conditions are notoriously bad results may follow by merely turning the light on them. But in general the process is not so simple. Conclusions as to what the facts mean should be accompanied by recommendations as to first and later steps to be taken.

The soundness of the recommendations depends in some measure upon the familiarity of the surveyor with methods demonstrated by other communities and, in new situations, upon his ability to invent practical methods and procedures.

The survey having gone deeply into the city's problems, the community will expect and want its best judgment as to their solution, but the community will also, and should, reserve the right to accept or reject the measures suggested, according as the majority of its people are impressed and convinced of their necessity and effectiveness. If the majority cannot ultimately be convinced, there is grave doubt whether the findings should be accepted, for democracy is built upon respect for the principle that what the majority decides is right—particularly if the essential facts have been given full publicity.

But that word *ultimately* predicates a fourth feature of the survey, to follow findings, conclusions and recommendations.

unblushing temptations to excessive drinking and immorality.

In fine, recreational opportunities has changed in a generation. The limitations of city life had tended to substitute more passive diversions for the old-time vigorous play. The development of commercial amusements, moreover, were taking children away from home, and otherwise keeping the family from playing together. Leadership that saw physical, intellectual and moral values in play was an outstanding need. For we have come to see that play is a great educator—as well as a great re-creator. What one does by choice—and that goes far to make it play—presses deep in its moulding influence. But even play as a safety valve for the venturesome spirit of youth, play stripped of the moral snares so often set around it—even these negative sides of play had been neglected in Springfield.

This neglect, common in American towns, had not a little to do with the constant stream of offenders coming up through

rent. (In offenses like drunkenness, what is needed is something to strengthen will power.) Another method, giving transients a limited number of hours to leave town, got nowhere so long as other cities did the same thing. Suspension of sentence "pending good behavior" was used in Springfield without the probationary supervision needed to make it mean anything other than to be "let off" from going to jail.

Sentenced to the city prison and county jail, young offenders passed their time in idleness under conditions that were insanitary, over-crowded, poorly lighted and ventilated and generally unwholesome. The short term for which most prisoners were committed made impossible any reformatory treatment, and no help was given released prisoners to re-establish themselves in the community.

On the other hand, because free bed and board were provided without work, these jails were not unpopular with old offenders. One "repeater," for example, was arrested thirteen

times in 1913, was returned to jail on a new charge on the heels of each release, and in all spent 209 of the 365 days of the year behind the bars. So much repeating went on among those arrested, those fined, those given suspended sentences, and those who had served terms in jail, that, unlike the old mill wheel, the correctional system seemed grinding with the human flow that had passed.

City and state relied on old-time institutions. (The first state institution in Illinois was, in fact, the penitentiary built in 1827.) Many of them had been established when moral lapses were regarded wholly as individual matters, and fear of retribution was held to be the great stabilizer. More, condi-

It was fifty years after the first penitentiary before the Illinois state board of health was established. That was in 1877, and public health work was largely a matter of quarantining the sick. Preventive medicine has made its greatest strides since then, but how far performance has lagged behind discovery in a typical American community is shown by the waste of life and health going on in Springfield.

Public Health

IN THE six years before the survey, over 1,200 residents died from the more common communicable diseases and several thousand more were made ill. At least a fourth of the deaths from all causes could be laid to preventable causes,

the Community Survey

FOURTH comes the convincing of the public. Above all, the survey is an educational measure, spreading its information in the untechnical phrases of the street. It is a means to better democracy by informing the community upon community matters by providing a basis for intelligent public opinion.

If the information it has obtained is to become part of the common experience of the community, moreover, it must recognize that whoever would speak to the millions nowadays has great competition. With the motion picture showing African jungles, Indian durbars and scenes that formerly only the very rich could see; with the newspaper brought down to one cent a copy, and at the same time made more pictorial and attractive and going into practically every urban home with the telegraphic news of all the world; with the spread of popular magazines, and with other inroads and drafts upon the individual's leisure and attention, the social surveyor must put his message in a way that is interesting and quick and easy to understand. These publicity mediums—daily press, graphic exhibit, illustrated periodical, public address and entertainment, motion-picture screen, as well as printed pamphlet and book report—should be utilized, and utilized, moreover, with as great a command as possible of this technique. This is merely to say that it is just as important to be efficient in the teaching use made of survey findings as it is to conform to high standards of accuracy in gathering and interpreting the facts.

FIFTH, the survey is distinctly a community enterprise. It describes conditions in a definite geographical area, and it requires the cooperation of all interested in that area. The complexity and the wide ramifications of the social problems before it have made the survey different from single social investigations, such as the study of the vital statistics of a city, the finances of its health department, or its milk-inspection work. The social survey is a group of such investigations, a scrutiny of such individual and related subjects as knot themselves into the community problems.

To attack municipal problems in their larger aspects and their various bearings the community must *work together*. And cooperation is growing easier. The telephone, cheap and better transportation, the daily press, the typewriter and the multi-graphing machine are releasing even the larger and more densely populated city areas from their earlier difficulties of distance and slow communication. It is possible for men and women to get together in larger units—and to work more effectively.

The survey and its exhibit, by dealing with many subjects, affords a rallying center, as well as the so-called psychological moment, for arousing the whole community to organize cooperative and, therefore, more forceful action—often along the very lines where intermittent or unrelated efforts have been without result. Thus the survey, through the inter-relation and authenticity of its facts, promotes community action. For we have as yet touched only the remote fringes of the latent power of the people, when aroused, to think and act in terms of the whole.

FINALLY, the survey, to get the fullest results, should be "followed up."

After the first general awakening of interest the public needs to be systematically reacquainted with the conditions found and the next steps to be taken. Findings should not be allowed to grow dim or out-of-date, nor effort to grow stale. Follow-up work, therefore, must further drive home what information is already in hand and, by more or less continuous investigation, reveal new developments and changing needs.

SIX CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITY SURVEY

1. INVESTIGATION.
2. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.
3. RECOMMENDATION.
4. CONVINCING THE PUBLIC.
5. COMMUNITY ACTION.
6. FOLLOW-UP WORK.



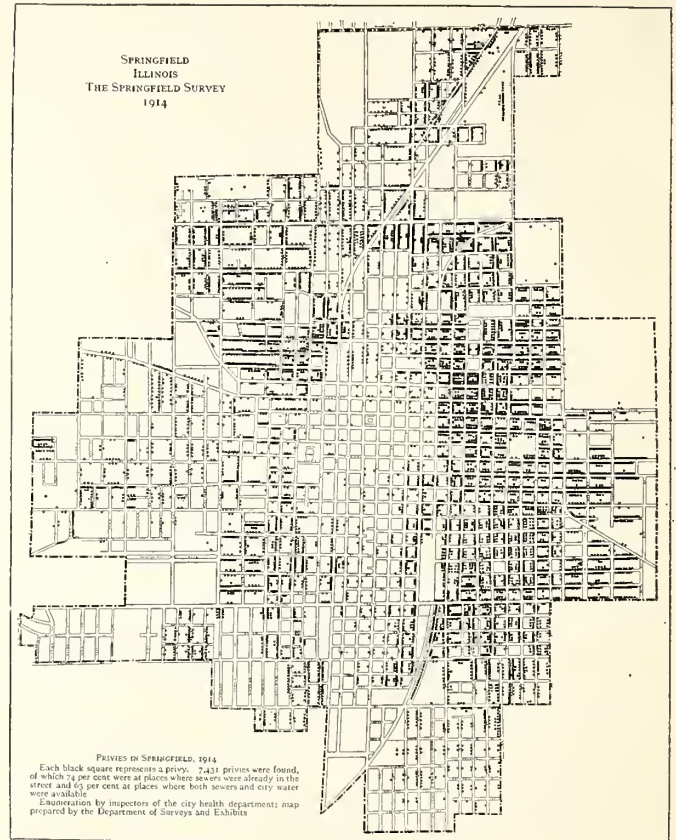
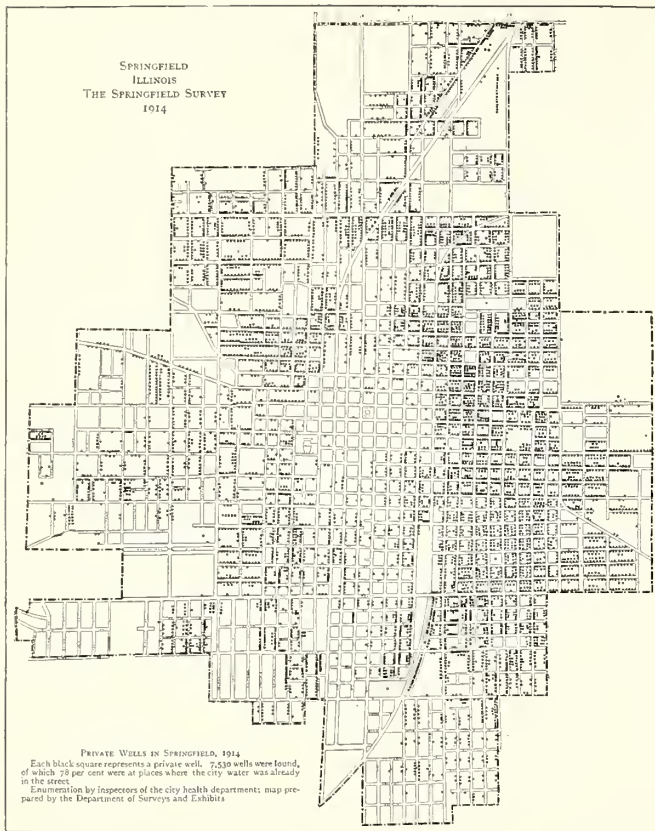
tions were permitted in the jails which, if anything, weakened and corrupted prisoners and sent them out the worse for the experience. The blindness and folly of this unending process would be inexcusable in any community were it not the tradition of centuries, and still the prevailing method throughout the country.

The police department is a comparatively new development, but the old ideas have carried over into it, and a study of the organization, administration and policy of the Springfield force showed the need for more care in fitting policemen for their work: for an honor system, a more adequate system of records and a new compilation of city ordinances; for the vigorous enforcement of laws governing the sale of liquor, and the adoption of a policy restricting the number of saloon licenses issued; the discontinuance of the policy of segregating vice; and the substitution of a policy of suppressing it through vigorous enforcement of the state law.

such as the contagions of children, typhoid fever and venereal diseases.

The greatest single agent was tuberculosis, responsible for 490 deaths in the six years and for 11 per cent of all the deaths in 1913, the year studied in detail. Over 700 infants under one year of age had died in the six years. Nearly half of these infant deaths resulted from the ordinary preventable causes, such as diarrhea and enteritis, pneumonia and acute infections.

The toll was found to be much heavier in the east wards, where negroes, foreign-born whites and illiterates live. They also had the highest birth rates and the highest proportions of children and people of working age; and they were the districts which had called for the largest amounts of poor relief. The city's public health problem centered here, and here was where the health department needed to concentrate its work. The plain fact was that there people were dying



SURVIVALS OF PIONEER DAYS

Each dot in the map of Springfield on the left represents a private well; each on the right, a privy. There were approximately 7,500 of each and at least three-fourths of them were unnecessary, being along the city water or sewer lines.

because they were ignorant; because they were poor; because they were surrounded by bad sanitary conditions; and because the city did not give them a proper health service.

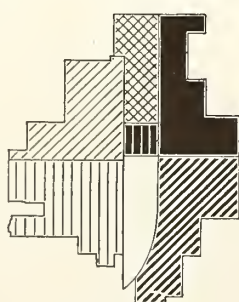
Except for these east wards, the city was fairly well covered by public water mains and sewers. Yet, within Springfield's eight and a half square miles were to be found 7,500 privies and 7,500 wells. Most of them were unnecessary, three-fourths being along the city water or sewer lines. The two east wards, which in 1910 contained 36 per cent of the population, contained over half of the wells and privies in the city and approximately a half of those that were absolutely unnecessary. The southeast ward and its 11,500-odd inhabitants were depending almost entirely on wells and privies, a situation which put that section of the capital city of Illinois in a class with those small villages of the state which still depend upon the insanitary makeshifts of pioneer days.

In brief, it was found that the city health department

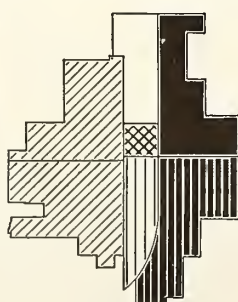
had done creditable work with the resources at its command. It was very meagerly financed and, probably as a consequence, ignored its two greatest opportunities for life-saving—doing nothing to stop the heavy inroads upon infant life or to restrict the ravages of tuberculosis. Measured in appropriations, Springfield rated the service it had created particularly for the protection of life and health at less than one-sixth as important as its police force, and less than one-tenth as important as its fire department.

Mental Hygiene

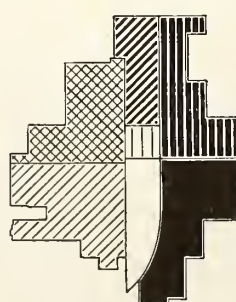
WITH the flesh and blood public so slow to comprehend the thief of health, lack of sanitation, as compared with the property owners' ripe concern against burglary and fire, it is perhaps natural that our American communities have not yet awakened to the fact that in reaching for fulness of life they cannot afford to fall behind in mental health also. If the mind is sick, but little counts. But happily, as in other sick-



FOREIGN WHITES



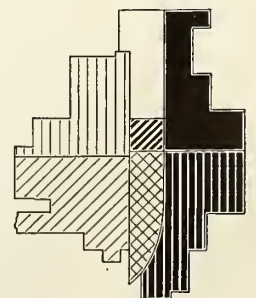
NEGROES



BIRTH RATE

PREVENTABLE DEATHS AND THEIR SOCIAL SETTING IN SPRINGFIELD

THE darker shadings in maps on the right show wards having the higher death rates. In maps on the left darker shadings indicate wards with higher proportions of Negroes and foreign-born whites, and higher birth rates.



DIARRHOEA AND ENTERITIS
UNDER 2 YEARS

ness, mental health once lost can often be restored. A new field, indeed a new world, has been opened up by the analysis and diagnosis of mental processes and disturbances.

Although the number of atypical children in the local public schools was so large as to require special classes for them, practically nothing had been done in the way of special training for such children in the schools, nor diagnosis among the seventy children brought before the juvenile court annually, a group in which mental deficiency usually runs high.

Illinois has its state hospital system, but many insane persons were being held in the county jail annex from time to time—a procedure which was not "treatment" in any proper sense of the word. Such persons often have delusions of unworthiness and self-condemnation, and this sort of custody only confirms their false ideas. As long ago as 1845, in Pennsylvania, Dorothea Dix declared that almshouses were "unfit places for the insane" and that "they never could be made suitable places." Nevertheless, in 1914, Pennsylvania and Illinois were among the states still to care for many of them that way, and insane persons were still being held for longer or shorter periods in the Sangamon county almshouse.

The large number of "drunks" arrested each year in Springfield included many who developed delirium tremens. These, too, were held in the county jail annex, although needing treatment that was not, and could not be, provided there.

Charities

WE HAVE noted the forward current of youth welling up through the schools in Springfield, the back-set currents towards crime and ill-health, and the slowly gathering public conviction that these last could be controlled and prevented. The same holds true of another back-set stream—that which tends toward poverty and destitution. Here we find another group of institutions in our middle-western cities: the oldest centering around the almshouse; private philanthropies dating back a generation ago, such as hospitals and orphanages; and the newer city-wide organizations. The usual center for coordinating work for families is the associated charities, but the Springfield society knew only a few more than 200 of the total of over 1,750 families which in 1913 had not been able to function normally and had received some kind of service from one or more of the social agencies of the city.

In over 80 per cent of these cases the family was known to but one social agency, a fact which seemed to show lack of cooperation.

Among the factors which entered into these family problems were widowhood, tuberculosis, sickness other than tuberculosis, desertion, mental deficiency, intemperance, unemployment, irregular school attendance, crippled conditions, blindness and non-support. In much the largest proportion of

families only one of these disabilities appeared on the records, a fact which, in turn, seemed to show that back of the lack of such cooperation as would bring the resources of several agencies to bear in helping a family, lay lack of diagnosis. For experience elsewhere reveals that modern family disabilities, like the misfortunes of Shakespeare's time, do not come singly, and that comprehensive and intelligent treatment depends on a broad basis of information.

In general, the facts recorded by the local organizations responsible for family care were very incomplete; their investigation of conditions in needy homes was not thoroughly and systematically made; in consequence what was accomplished in actual rehabilitation, that is, toward the restoration of families to independence and normal living, was largely fragmentary. Moreover, the charitable societies had not been active in broad community movements aimed at the removal, or improvement at least, of conditions which disorganize family life.

The same was true of institutions providing care for children. While much sympathetic service was rendered, their work was chiefly custodial and in the nature of material relief. The practice of holding poor children in the county detention home (for delinquents) was condemned, and the need of two new institutions was pointed out—a city dispensary under the health department and a city and county tuberculosis hospital.

Housing

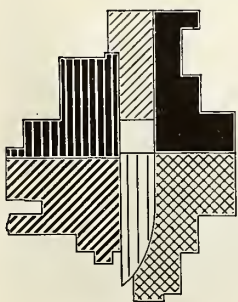
SPRINGFIELD'S growth, unlike that of Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Chicago or New York, has not been halted or slowed down by hills, rivers, lakes or ocean barriers. The flat Illinois countryside spreads far in every direction. Nor have European traditions, as in some of the older eastern cities, tended to cramp housing. The scant sprinkling of cabins that hark back to the time when they gave shelter against Indians and wild beasts, the thousands of story-and-a-half cottages and the hundreds of modern residences, all are the single-family type.

But of late the multiple dwelling had begun to appear, and more frequently in the last year or so. One danger that usually accompanies it is the overcrowding of the lot and the consequent under-provision for light and ventilation.

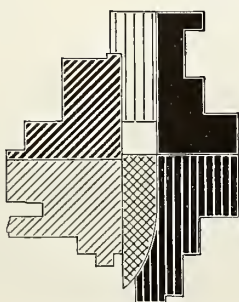
Housing conditions in the Negro district, moreover, were very serious, the houses being more dilapidated, the water supply and toilets more inadequate, and everything in a more rundown, shabby condition than in other parts of the city. Local legislation in the interest of good housing was not abreast of the times, and the need of a thorough-going housing code was clear.

City and County Administration

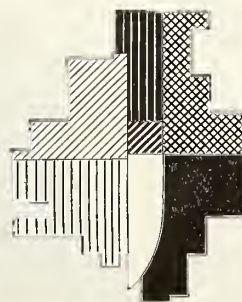
MANY of the gaps and weaknesses in public service in the fields already touched upon go back to insufficient financial



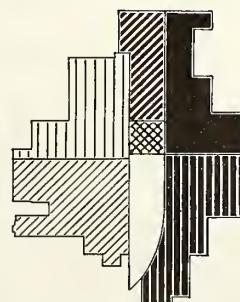
DIPHTHERIA



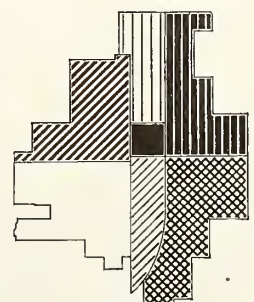
CONTAGIOUS DISEASES
OF CHILDREN



TYPHOID FEVER



PNEUMONIA UNDER
55 YEARS



TUBERCULOSIS



ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S HOMESTEAD IN SPRINGFIELD

In the smaller cities of the middle west the single-family house is still the rule for wage-earner as well as lawyer. This is threatened by the incoming of the new multiple dwellings.

support by city and county, and to outworn administrative methods in the public offices.

Moreover, as in the case of taxation, these may be a source of injustice. The Springfield assessors are required to value each piece of land only once in four years. Taxes are variable quantities; valuations are also variable quantities. But if assessments remain constant quantities for considerable periods disproportions are sure to arise, for the property rising in value fastest will escape some of its just burdens.

An additional weakness of the local system is the assessment of realty very far below its market value. In Springfield and Sangamon county assessments ranged only 20 to 33 per cent of actual value. It is proverbial that the small property-owner carries the heavy end of assessed valuations, and the lack of publicity in Springfield had no other result than to aggravate this condition. Very little was done beyond keeping the assessor's books open to public inspection. It should be said, however, that Springfield in adopting a fixed and mathematical basis for computing land and building values several years ago took a forward step, but one which did not overcome this fault.

The assessment of personal property in Springfield, as in many other places, has not been just or successful. It favors the perjurer at the expense of the conscientious, tends to make false swearing an accepted custom, and comes down heaviest on small investors with a narrow range of opportunities for placing their funds.

Better results at less expense would be had if township assessment should give place to one assessing office and township collection give place to collection by the county treasurer.

Twenty-five per cent of the city's income comes from the license return on the retail liquor business, thus injecting (to the harm of clear thinking) a revenue issue into the wet and dry question.

The accounting system of the city and the work of the city comptroller were good, as well as the practice by the city of an annual audit. The city budget, barring a few minor features, was satisfactory, but numerous budget fixing and taxing boards—among them the city, the county, the school board and library board—made the community's work-program extremely complicated.

The city's monthly reports on finance told the layman but little; its auditor's reports were not published, and but few city department reports were published. This was a serious

failure, for popular government cannot work well unless the people keep informed. Moreover, the citizen has a right to know; the public work is his enterprise; it uses his money, and it is designed to serve his purposes and needs.

Industrial and Work Conditions

JUST as the quality of much of the public service depends upon adequate municipal financing, so the standard of life of the individual has its roots in how he earns his living. "What are you doing, and how are you getting on?" are two of the most interesting and important questions in a community. They affect everybody, and the general well-being depends in large measure upon them. To get some indication of the answer in Springfield, a study of 100 wage-earners' families, chosen for their representative character, was made.

There were 378 persons fourteen years of age or over in these families, and seven out of every ten of them were contributing to the family income. Only nineteen families were living on the earnings of one person each. Practically all who were able were obliged to help in order to secure moderately good conditions of life.

The proportion of wage-earning children was very large. Of the fifty-seven between fourteen and sixteen years old, forty-one—or 72 per cent—were gainfully employed; and a number under fourteen brought in a little money now and then. When employed, ten out of the seventy fathers whose wage rates were reported received less than \$12 per week; thirty-two received from \$12 to \$20; twenty-eight received \$20 or more. Of all the other males employed for whom information was available, one-third earned less than \$7.00 a week, one-half less than \$10. Among the women of sixteen years and over, more than one-fourth earned less than \$6.00, and almost 70 per cent less than \$8.00 per week.

Wage rates, however, mean little unless linked with regularity of employment. Of the bread-winners in these families two out of every five reported irregular employment for the previous year—and irregular employment meant the loss of from several weeks to six months.

Of fifty-seven families supplying information on rent, over half lived in houses which rented for less than \$12 a month. They were mostly four- or five-room houses without city water, gas, electricity or inside toilets. The insanitary surface well was the water supply. Some of these houses were crowded because of the necessity of taking in lodgers. Thirteen of the 100 families had boarders, lodgers or both. One family of seven living in three rooms took in lodgers.



BITUMINOUS MINING AS THE OUTSIDER SEES IT
Roughly, 2,500 wage-earners are employed in the pits in and around Springfield.

Of fifty-six persons discovered in the investigation who had left school before sixteen years of age, twenty-five, or nearly half, had left because their parents had not felt able to continue them in school. There was reason to believe that a considerable number of Springfield children—running close to 100 per year—were dropping out of school because the family needed what they could earn. Most of the occupations they went into were “blind alley” jobs, which did not offer training or possibilities of advancement.

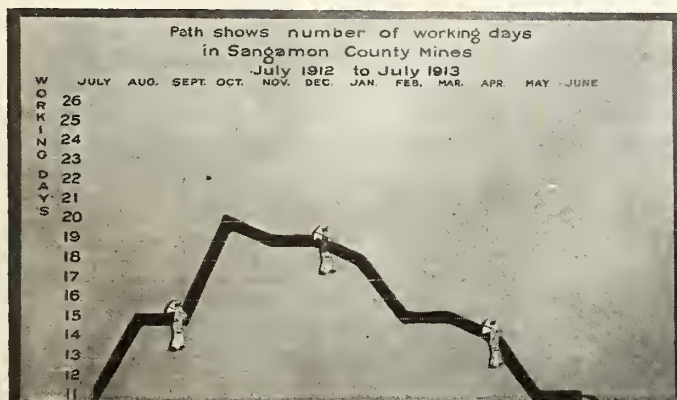
Thirty-nine of the families were saving in the form of payments on a home. A few more had bank savings; and five out of every six carried insurance, the amounts usually being only enough to cover burial costs. Nine of the 100 families had been forced to ask for either public or private charitable assistance. Over one-fourth of the mothers in the 100 families were earning money to augment the family income; and in some cases this meant neglect of children. One woman had done washing for twenty-six years until all her children were of legal age to work.

Springfield has the general ear-marks of a fairly prosperous western city. Eighty-seven per cent of its people are American-born. Yet this quick scrutiny, a little below the surface of things, showed working conditions far from satisfactory. Among other things they showed clearly, as they have in investigations elsewhere, how low wages and irregular employment play into bad housing, child labor, destitution, neglected childhood, and the predisposition of families to physical and often moral breakdowns. No solution of these problems will be effective that does not eliminate the great economic waste of unemployment and correct the evil of low wages.

In General

JUST as in this corn belt, the yellow ear is the thing, and the stalk, the husk and the tassel but incidental, so the institutions and social activities of this city set in the midst of prosperous farming, mining, manufacturing and commerce—if we pull off the husk of things—are only incidental. The man is the thing. Society moves forward or backward with him. What is happening in his case? Is he wringing less or more out of life than the generation that preceded him? Therein is the test of the community.

The Springfield survey found a two-edged answer in terms of this typical American city. It found that new dangers to the citizen's health had not been fully guarded against; his new educational needs had not been met. The old venture-some spirit of childhood seemed more likely to whirl him into the criminal machinery than when he lived more apart from others. The absence of the old personal relationship between him and his employer had lost him much in his workaday life



BITUMINOUS MINING AS THE INSIDER KNOWS IT
The year before the survey, Sangamon county miners had work only three-fifths of the year.

that had not yet been regained. The cost of providing the new public services had not been distributed equitably.

On the other hand, the survey disclosed also a reassuring side. The shortcomings were largely faults in adjustment. The same fine democratic spirit of service that has threaded through human lives on these prairies for nearly a century weaves on in this generation, and science is giving it new warp and woof in the methods of hygiene, education, penology, and the rest—in holding out prospect of more leisure and culture for the average man, more of the social surplus and the fruits of mechanical invention.

Telling the Public

SUCH a summary of findings is perforce inadequate.

Enough has been said to guard against any assumption that the writer has wilfully ignored noteworthy evidences of local progress and civic service. What has been attempted has been to bring out rather the common tendencies in the Springfield situation which may be self-revealing to other cities. For obviously, in a few hundred words, findings cannot be put in perspective which it took months to interpret to Springfield people themselves. All of the reports were fully summarized in the local Springfield press, the newspapers handling from twelve to thirty-two full column stories on each.

At the conclusion of the field work an exhibition of survey findings was held in the state armory—which was open for ten days and which attracted thousands of visitors, including many from distant parts of the state.

For two months preceding, a special campaign of publicity and promotion was carried on which kept the survey before people. Old hands at publicity work will recognize the value of such things as the invitations sent out by a hospitality committee to mayors throughout the state; exhibit models and devices displayed from time to time in public places; unexplained cartoons posted in the windows at exhibition headquarters; the street railway company's offer to transport school children free to the exhibition; prizes offered for the five best grammar school essays on “What I Saw at the Springfield Survey Exhibition”; special days assigned to societies and organizations; a daily department in one of the newspapers under “The Survey Question Box”; a proclamation by the mayor making the last day of the exhibition Springfield Exhibition Day and urging “all loyal citizens of Springfield to take this last opportunity to inspect and study the many interesting and instructive things there to be found.”

A large part of the work of preparing exhibits and conducting the publicity campaign was done through local volunteer committees—including an advising committee, a general executive committee under the chairmanship of R. C. Lanphier, committees on automobiles, decoration, drayage, lettering, lighting, photographs, printed matter, speakers, special days, ushers, and many others. As the campaign grew, more and



DEMOCRACY SPREAD OUT TOO THIN

The long ballot and decentralization persist in Sangamon county; the short ballot and a city commission give self-government a better chance in Springfield.

Developments in Springfield Following The Survey

In the Public Schools

1. Committees of the Board of Education reduced to three: (a) Education, (b) Finance and Supplies, and (c) School Property.
2. Junior high school system adopted; four junior high schools organized.
3. New high school principal elected; organization and course of study changed. Better system of supervised study and discipline introduced without friction.
4. Modern high school building erected to accommodate about 1,500 pupils.
5. Lighting, ventilation and general sanitation of all schools improved. Fire-exit locks on all outside doors and fire-escapes on the high school.
6. Higher standards set for lighting, heating, ventilation and sanitation in new building construction.
7. Special supervisor of buildings employed.
8. Patrons' clubs organized in every district of the city; nearly every schoolhouse used as a social center for neighborhood meetings; public meetings and political discussions held in the auditoriums of several schools; about one-third of the voting places of the city now located in school buildings.
9. Teachers doubled in number in manual training and household arts; pre-vocational training and guidance promoted.
10. School census revised to secure more valuable information.
11. New salary schedule for teachers and janitors, with rates based on efficiency; required qualifications of principals and teachers raised.
12. Seven branch libraries established in schools and five in other centers.
13. Courses of study for the elementary, junior high and senior high schools revised and modernized.

Recreation

1. Director of hygiene employed by Board of Education for playgrounds, athletics and social centers.
2. Athletic organization extended among elementary school-children; athletic contests and a play festival held.
3. Park board's plans for equipment of park play sections extended.
4. Free public golf courses established in two parks.
5. Bathing beaches constructed in two.
6. Burlesque theater cleaned up.

Delinquency and Corrections

1. Sheriff pledged to turn into the county treasury approximately \$7,500 per year profits from feeding prisoners in the county jail. (First returns have already been made. This money previously had gone into the sheriff's pockets as a matter of course. For his four-

- year term the total will approximate \$30,000, an amount alone that exceeds the cost of the survey.)
2. Large and flourishing redlight district closed. (It had existed as a recognized community institution for fifty years.)
3. Woman of energy and ability appointed as deputy sheriff.
4. Two additional probation officers appointed.
5. Juvenile detention home improved.
6. City jail prisoners put at work in farming and gardening on farm land owned by the city.

Health

1. Child-welfare station to promote infant hygiene work established by city Board of Health and Women's Improvement League.
2. Movement on foot for new contagious-disease-hospital facilities.
3. Educational work emphasized by Tuberculosis Association; its nursing service increased and dispensary for children established.
4. One-hundred-and-twenty-acre farm purchased by St. John's Hospital for a sanatorium for the tuberculous.
5. Free dispensary established by St. John's Hospital.

Mental Hygiene

1. Methods improved in handling cases of insane and feeble-minded before the County Court.
2. Some improvement in handling cases requiring mental examination before Juvenile Court.

Charities

1. New Associated Charities secretary secured, and work completely reorganized.
2. Better cooperation between public and private agencies.
3. Placing out work initiated by Home for the Friendless; trained nurse added to its staff, and physical condition of the children improved.
4. Trained nurse employed to care for tuberculous patients at the County Poor Farm; food and rooms improved.
5. Attendance department of the public schools reorganized with a view to closer cooperation with Associated Charities and other social agencies.
6. Central Council of Social Agencies organized; city conference on social work held.

City and County Administration

1. More equitable rule for assessing corner lots adopted.
2. Cost-accounting system installed by City Water Department; detailed monthly reports now published.
3. Movement to secure two 24-inch water mains between the pumping station and the city, both as a sanitary and fire measure.
4. Garbage-collection started in small way.

more people lent their help until more than 600 were at work, not only because their committee leaders were energetic and enthusiastic and the spirit of the campaign contagious, but because the things they had to do were interesting. They made models and mechanical devices, tried their hands at art work, wrote special stories for the newspapers, handled office matter, snapped photographs, and made public addresses before churches, lodges, labor unions, school clubs and other organizations and societies. They helped stage and take part in the short plays written to bring out some of the important lessons of the survey.

Survey Results

TO FOLLOW up investigation and the publication of findings, the Springfield Committee organized itself into sub-committees which were charged with carrying out the recommendations in each of the main fields covered. These have already some accomplishments to their credit. In addition, a Council of Social Agencies, formed as a result of the charities survey, has afforded an opportunity for discussion and conference; and existing social agencies have modified their activities in many

cases to conform to them. In this connection, much credit is due to Margaret Bergen, the new secretary of the associated charities; to H. S. Magill, superintendent of the public schools; to Sheriff J. A. Wheeler, and to ministers in some of the churches who cooperated in making the survey mean as much as possible to Springfield. A still later development was the decision of the Survey Committee in December to appoint a committee to consider the form of organization which could best carry forward the general purposes of the survey. Under the chairmanship of Francis P. Ide this committee has made a report recommending the organization of a city club to follow-up the survey and to promote other civic enterprises.

A survey shows conditions and needs and furnishes a program of improvements; but after all, the program must be carried out very largely by other agencies than that making the investigation, and they should come in for a good deal, if not for most, of the credit for results. Recently we tried to list developments which pretty clearly had their beginning in survey recommendations—or at any rate, the advances made in the community since the survey, which had been specifically recommended by the survey, no matter what other agencies

had also helped. The list is shown on page 512. In compiling it, no special effort was made to gather inclusive data.

But, aside from these specific developments, there is something more to be said on results. A. L. Bowen, secretary of the State Charities Commission, said in a recent address:

"A new community conscience, or, perhaps more truthfully, an *aroused and stimulated* community conscience, is the most noteworthy effect of the survey. Our attitude of a community toward all questions affecting its well-being has radically changed. We see new meanings in them and react to them in a different manner. Our sense of duty in many cases where it formerly would have been dormant now asserts itself and prompts us to action. There is a new spirit in our work."

On a recent visit to Springfield I was told by one citizen that there is a great deal of feeling abroad that "the only way to get anything in Springfield now is to go to the people for it. In the old days there were other ways." If this be an accurate judgment, it means a most significant and democratic stride ahead, and the survey, by "going to the people," helped carry the new conviction.

So much for local developments. But it seems to me this is not quite the place to stop. May I, indeed, reverse the usual order and announce my text at the end. It is what I think we ought to call the golden text of our political Holy Writ, and was spoken by a citizen of this same Springfield, Sangamon county, Illinois, some fifty-odd years ago in a memorable appeal. It ran: "that we here highly resolve that the nation shall, under God, have a *new birth of freedom*; and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." These words were pronounced when the states were at grips over a national social question. The appeal was for a rehallowing of government to the task of *serving* the men and women who are the government.

Democracy is subject—sometimes profitably, sometimes not—to the dominating forces of any period whether political, ecclesiastical, economic, or other. Its forces ebb and flow with them, and must be refreshed whenever substantial rights have been invaded, or, indeed, whenever there are new gains to the common weal to be won. That is why, is it not, that each oncoming thirty years or so has had its job to do and a farther peg to scale to?

Something, it seems to me at least, that is fundamental in the fabric of our public affairs has been inweaving in the last dozen years or more—something that also bears the marks of high resolve and carries the infection of life and youth and renaissance. It is a process of *peaceful civic renewal*, through

the scrutinizing of conditions surrounding our daily living, with a view not only to correcting those that are unwholesome, but to quickening any that show promise.

Back of this scrutinizing and this resolve is the recognition that times have changed; that new circumstances to the harm of some folks have arisen; that simultaneously new forces have been gathering to cope with just such difficulties, and that these forces, in the form of new knowledge and experience and more effective methods, must be made to count at once.

So has come the insistence that changed conditions shall not leave people with less independence, less opportunity, and less comfort than before; rather that more shall be wrung out of life for them.

The successful working of this leaven of civic renewal depends upon the correcting power of facts, which must be gathered carefully and faithfully as the truth-loving scientist in any field gathers them—plus such a telling of the facts as will make them common knowledge. American experience is piling up the conviction that communities will act upon facts when they have them.

One of the forms of this new type of social exploration and reporting has been the community survey. Since 1907 in Pittsburgh the survey idea has spread enormously. Distinctive and vital as its formula is in itself, it is essentially synthetic and has drawn method and momentum from the collateral movements and agencies, national, state, city, public and private, which make ascertained fact the rock bottom on which to base social policies and proposals.

In conclusion be it said that the chief function of Springfield's workshops, mine pits, farm and trade resources is to serve the interests of Springfield herself. They should furnish the groundwork for a structure of social well-being, the output of which ~~could~~ mount far above factory output, coal tonnage, farm products and trade values. Even without special economic advantages, a city's responsibility must be acknowledged, but with these advantages the responsibility is much increased. The Springfield Survey means just this, that a group of Springfield men and women, most of them already builders of this superstructure, were ready for fresh efforts. What they have done may seem but a modest contribution to the welfare of cities other than their own; but, large or small, they pray that their endeavor may be of some worth in spreading orderly, disinterested, thorough scrutiny as a basis for constructive state and municipal resolve—in the name of the well-being of the plain folks whose numbers are legion, and for whom the fellow-townsmen and precursor of this Springfield committee spoke so forcefully two generations ago.



THE SURVEY EXHIBITION WAS A "ONE-WAY" SHOW. EVERY VISITOR PASSED THE INFORMATION BOOTH ON THE WAY IN.

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